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disputed paragraph, might have had Kyd more or less in mind at every point, he was writing primarily of a group in which Kyd was naturally included. This conclusion by no means destroys the possibility of Kyd's being here indicated as the author of an *Ur-Hamlet*, but it suggests considerable need of caution as to the inference, and some re-examination of the evidence on that particular point. The writer's own view as to the question has already been stated, but is repeated here for clearness:—

II. That the paragraph may serve as corroborative of other testimony as to an *Ur-Hamlet*, but that taken alone, it proves little. The argument from probabilities may be considerable, but it must be distinguished from that of certainty.

1. For one thing, although the context and later references make it seem probable that Nash in speaking of "whole *Hamlets*" and "handfulls of tragicall speeches," has in mind a play, it is not impossible that he means merely *The Hystorie of Hamlet*, as illustrating the climax of the tragic or melodramatic. Certainly that tale, being newly translated into the English along with other tales from Belleforrest's *Histoires Tragiques*, and doubtless current among the dramatists of the day, abounds in "tragicall speeches" and so might reasonably be said to have "handfulls" of them, if length rather than number be taken as the measure. Moreover, Nash was, in any case, using the expression "whole *Hamlets*" in a figurative sense, since he must have known of the existence of the prose tale and its equipment of "tragicall speeches," and would not have inferred that a *Hamlet* play was taken directly from Seneca when he was blaming others for ignorance of the classics. Such loose phrasing must be carefully dealt with.

2. Then, too, as to the chief evidence from which Nash's declaration of Kyd's authorship is usually inferred, i. e., the expression "the Kidde in *Aesop*." The present writer has already expressed some slight doubt that a pun was intended, though readily admitting such a possibility. Even granting the pun, however, it is a rash inference to conclude that it meant he was to indicate Kyd as the author of an *Ur-Hamlet*. The word *Hamlets* is used in one connection, whereas the possible pun on Kyd's name occurs several lines later in a different connection; so that we are hardly justified

in inferring between the two passages such interrelations of reference as would be necessary for a definite statement that Nash meant to indicate Kyd as author of a *Hamlet* play.

Fortunately, outside testimony, at least as to the existence of an early *Hamlet*, seems more definite, inasmuch as Henslowe has an entry in his *Diary*, "9 of June 1594, Rd. at hamlet . . . viij," and Lodge in his *Wits' Miserie* [1596], mentions "the Ghost which cried so miserably at the theater like an Oister wife *Hamlet revenge*." Certainly Henslowe's reference here seems clear and Lodge's, taken with that, practically conclusive; so that the two somewhat reinforce the possibility that Nash's reference was to a play, but it must be remembered, for accuracy, that Henslowe's record was five years later than Nash's *Epistle* (1589) and Lodge's *Wit's Miserie* still two years later; so that their mention of a play at these later dates does not prove that Nash knew of it in 1589.

If, however, we accept all favorable possibilities as certainties,—conceding that a *Hamlet*-play did exist in 1589 and that it could not, in that form, or at that time, have been written by Shakspeare—it seems highly probable that Kyd was the author of the early play and if so, that Nash had him vaguely in mind as such in his reference to "whole *Hamlets*." Kyd's strong claim to the authorship of an *Ur-Hamlet* however—granting its existence—rests, not on the reference in the paragraph, however valuable that may have proved as a clue, but upon the evidence furnished by the resemblance between the acknowledged works of Kyd and the 1603 quarto of *Hamlet*. Whoever denies Kyd's authorship of the assumed play must be ready to account for these strong resemblances, if not to suggest a more probable author.

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CHARMS TO RECOVER STOLEN CATTLE.

The two charms that follow have not been published, so far as I know, and have been gleaned from Cambridge mss. in the swath of the industrious Cockayne. Though the first, as far as it

goes, is practically identical with the version in *Leechdoms*, 3, 286, the second exhibits important variations in the Latin formula and offers a better and clearer text.

(A.) Ms. C. C. C. 190, fol. 130 (Wanley, p. 110).

Gif feoh sy under fangen. Gif hit sy hors, sinȝ on his feteran oððe on his bridele. Gif hit sy oðer feoh, sinȝ on *þæt* fot¹ spor and ontend iiii candela and dryp on *þæt* hofrec *þæt* wex priwa. Ne mæȝ hit ȝe nan man forhelan. Gif hit sy inuorf, Sinȝ ȝonne on feower healfe ȝæs huses and æne on middan : Crux Christi² reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa est. Abraham tibi semitas, uias, montes, concludat ; Iob et flumina ; [Iacob te]³ ad iudic[i]um ligatum perducatur. Judeas Crist ahenȝan,—*þæt* heom com to wite swa stranȝan,—ȝe dydan heom dæda ȝa wyrrestan. Hy *þæt* drofe onȝuldon ; hælon hit to hearne micclum, for ȝam hi hit forhelan ne mihtan.

In Cockayne's version there follows a rhythmic formula of about eighteen lines, which sets forth the legal right of the original owner to the property, and which will be given in full further on in this article.

In the Cambridge ms. this charm follows immediately after a brief extract from *Ex Decretis Sancti Gelasii Papæ*. It also appears in B. M. ms. Harl. 438, fol. 128 (new numbering, in pencil, 138b), which is a transcript from ms. C. C. C. 190, made by Mr. John Richford and others, and donated to the Museum by D. George Hickes.

(B.) Ms. C. C. C. 41, fol. 227–228 (margin) ; new numbering, fol. 207–208.

Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi periit et inuenta est. Habracham tibi uias, montes, silua[s], semitas, flumina[s], andronas [andrones], [con]cludat ; Isaac tibi tenebras inducat ; Crux Iacob⁴ te a[d] iudic[i]um ligatum perducatur. Iudei Christum crucifixerunt per simum ; sibi met ipsum perpetraverunt opus ; celaureunt quod non potuerunt celare : sic nec hoc furtum celatur nec celare possit per dominum nostrum.

¹ See Stopford Brooke's note on this heathen ceremony, *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 473.

² Ms. always XPI.

³ See following ms.

⁴ This gives the proper reading for A. It may be noted that B omits Job.

A fragment of this charm appears in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Stallybrass, 1880–1888, 4, 1849 :

Abraham tibi semitas vias, montes concludat Job et flumina, Isaac tibi tenebras inducat. Jacob te ad iudicium ligatum perducatur.⁵

A later version of this same fragment appears in English in an Oxford ms. (seventeenth century), Bibl. Bodl. e Mus. 243, fol. 34 :

Abraham shutt y^e way to thee y^t yⁿ ronne no further/ Isaack send darknes to thee y^t yⁿ presume to goe no further. Jacob be wth thee & bringe thee to this place N. + returne returne in y^e name of y^e father & y^e sonne & y^e holy ghost. Amen.

Saye⁶ this Orison afore sayd turning thee into y^e 4 parts of y^e worlde & then goe to y^e church & cause a masse to be songe of y^e holy ghost 3 dayes together & y^e theefe shall come agayne without fayle by y^e grace of god. *probatum est*.

Now, as A and B agree in all essential details except in the passage, *Abraham tibi*, . . . *perducatur* ; as this passage is inaccurate and corrupt in both versions ; as it is introduced abruptly, with serious interruption to the context ; as it is found both in Grimm and in a later English ms. independent of the *Crux Christi reducat* ; it is evident that we have here two independent charms loosely and carelessly tacked together. I have not been able, however, to discover a fuller or more accurate version of this interpolated charm.

The conclusion of A, *Judeas Crist ahenȝan*, etc., is evidently translated either from B or from some older Latin version. The original must certainly have been Latin, not English.

Both charms (disregarding the *Abraham tibi*, etc.) are clearly ritualistic, developing out of priestly ceremonies based on the well-known legend of the finding of the Cross by St. Helena. The form of the charm,—parallelism, or “*similia similibus*,”—is one of the oldest and most widespread.⁷ A, however, omits the application to

⁵ Grimm's punctuation is reproduced. It might, however, make the connection of the separate clauses clearer by placing a semicolon after *concludat* and after *inducat*. The source of this fragment is not given.

⁶ The italicized words appear in the ms. in red ink.

⁷ See M. Müller, *Über den Stilform der altdutschen Zaubersprüche bis 1300*, Gotha, 1901, pp. 36–39 ; O. Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen, Palustris*, xxiv, 131 ff. ;

the deed in hand, *swa næfre þeos dæd forholen ne wyrcðe*, as in A and B of Grein-Wülcker.

Although in these two versions allusion is made to the miraculous finding of the Cross, there is no mention of St. Helena by name, as in Grein-Wülcker, I, 325, C, and in the two following versions,—one from an unpublished English ms. of the seventeenth century, the other a popular version common to the peasants of Pomerania. The English version, taken from Bibl. Bodl. ms. 116, fol. 71, exhibits a curious mixture of mediæval divination and of direct prayer to the saint.

Bibl. Bodl. Douce ms. 116, fol. 71, xvii century. Charme to find out a theefe.

The man^r how to find out a theef, is thus, turn y^r face to y^e east & make a cross upon cristall wth oyl, & und^r y^e cross write these 2 words (Saint Helen) then a child y^r is innocent, and a chaast virgin borne in true wedlock, & not base begotten, of y^e age of 10 years, must take y^e Cristall in his hand, and behind his back, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutly, and reverently say ov^r this pray^r thrice, I beseech thee my Lady S. Helen, mother of King Constantine, wth did find y^e cross whereupon Christ dyed : by this thy holy devotion and inuention of y^e cross, and p ys y^e same cross, & p y^e joy wth thou conceivest at y^e finding thereof & p y^e love wth thou bearest to thy sonne Constantine, & p y^e great goodness, wth thou dost always use, y^r thou show me in this cristall, wth soev^r I wish or desire to know ; amen. & wth y^e child seeth y^e angell in y^e Christall, demand wth you will, & the Angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, just as sun rising, wth y^e wheather is fair & clear.⁸

The German version, though found among the peasants and betraying its popular origin by the corruption, "Sankt Hellmann" for St. Helen, retains pretty faithfully the original formula, which after all is simple, and offers little opportunity for variation. In Grein-Wülcker A and B we have the simple ceremony of turning to the four points of the compass and reciting the *Cruz*

Christi reducat towards each point ; and in the German version the thief is solemnly adjured to return with the stolen property either before sunrise or before midday, sunset having been apparently omitted. There is the same parallelism as in the Anglo-Saxon versions.

Das Kreuz geschlagen :

"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Aufgang der Sonne mit dem gestohlenen Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen :

"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Mittag mit dem gestohlene Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen :

"Wiederkehre der Dieb [vor Untergang der Sonne] mit dem gestohlenen Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen :

"Das Kreuz Christi ward verborgen, ward wiedergefunden durch die Sankt Hellmann.—Also wahr muss der Dieb wiederkehren und sich wiederfinden mit dem gestohlenen Gut." ⁹

Immediately following Cockayne's version, and joined on to it without a break, comes a peculiarly interesting rhythmical recital of the legal right of the owner to the stolen property, the whole being an independent, purely legal formula, borrowed from the solemn oaths taken or administered in case of stolen goods,¹⁰ and here tacked on, with

⁹ Ulrich Jahn, *Hexenwesen und Zauberei in Pommern*, Stettin, 1886, p. 55, No. 12.

¹⁰ See Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Records Commission, 1840, I, 184. The whole passage in Cockayne, with slight and unessential verbal differences, is identical with that in the *Ancient Laws*. On page 178, note, Price, the first editor, calls attention to the marked rhythmical character of the phrasing in these oaths : "It is impossible to read these oaths without perceiving at every turn their rhythmical quantity and alliteration. An ear any way accustomed to Anglo-Saxon poetry will easily detect the disjointed members of their poetic formulæ, and instinctively arrange them in the order in which they ought to stand." To this Thorpe adds : "It is, however, to be observed, that in these and similar pieces, neither metre nor alliteration is constant, and that the latter, when it does occur, is usually unlike the common poetic alliteration, having no 'chief letter' (höfuðstafr) in the second line. The use of this kind of alliteration in early laws and judicial documents, as well as of final rime, was common to all the Germanic and Scandinavian nations. Those who wish to see more on this subject may consult Grimm's '*Deutsche Rechts Altherthümer*,' page 6." Both Cockayne and Thorpe print the passage as prose. I have ventured to separate it into lines, as showing more clearly the rhythmical and poetic character.

Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1900, § 226.

⁸ Cf. the "glass prospective" in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Ward's edition, sc. v, l. 110 ; cf. Ward's note on the line and also his discussion of the magical glass in the Introduction, p. xxvi ff.

no connecting words, to the religious ritual.¹¹ It is as follows :

- Hit becwæð and becwæl se ðe hit ahte¹²
 mid fullan folcrihte, swa swa hit his yldran
 mid feo and mid feore rihte begeatan,
 and lætan and læfdan ðam to Ʒewealde
 5 ðe hy wel uðan ; and swa ic hit hæbbe
 swa hit se sealde ðe to syllanne ahte
 unbryde and unforboden ; and ic aƷnian wille
 to aƷenre ahte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe,
 and næfre yntan ne plot ne ploh,
 10 ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fotmæl,
 ne land ne læse, ne fersc ne mersc,
 ne ruh ne rum, wudes ne feldes,
 sandes ne strandes, wealtes ne wæteres,
 butan ðæt læste ða hwile ðe ic libbe
 15 forðam [ðe] [n]is se man on life ðe æfre gehyrde
 ðæt man cwiððe oððon crafode hine on hundrede
 oððon ahwar on gemote on ceapstowe oþþe on cyricware
 ða hwile he lifde. Unsac he wæs on life
 beo on leƷere swa swa he mote. Do swa ic lære
 20 beo ðu be Ʒinum and læt me be minum
 ne Ʒyrne ic Ʒines, ne læðes ne landes
 ne sace ne socne. ne ðu mines ne Ʒærft
 ne mynte ic ðe nan þing.

The logical process of development by which these independent charms were strung together might seem to have been as follows : The owner of the stolen property, having evidently determined to omit no step for the restoration of his cattle, first tries a purely heathen ceremony of dripping into the hoof prints of the stolen animals wax from three lighted candles ; next, by a sort of sympathetic treatment, he cites the loss and recovery of the Holy Cross,—as the Cross of

¹¹ Abrupt as the transition here is from the *Cruz Christi* formula to the legal recital and also in the case of the *Cruz Christi* and the *Abraham tibi . . . concludat* above, it is characteristic of many of the charms, which, being sometimes meaningless collocations of words and phrases, are often made up of independent formulas, either whole or in part, strung together without any connecting links. For a similar example, see Ebermann, p. 47, where the Longinus formula for stanching blood is tacked on to the river Jordan charm.

¹² Cockayne prints from ms. Cott. Julius C 2, fol. 97b (a paper ms. of transcripts), collated with Textus Roffensis, p. 50. Thorpe's version is from ms. Corpus Christi 383 (tenth century). The following variants have been noted in Thorpe : 2 *folc-rihte*. 3 *begeaton*. 4 *letan*. 8 *ahte*. 9 *næfre þe myntan*, undoubtedly the correct reading. 10 *fof-mæl*. 11 *læsse*. 13 *wæteres*. 14 *þe hwile*. 15 *forþam nis æniman*. 16 *hundræde*. 17 *ceap-stowe*, *cyric-ware*. 18 *lifede*. 20 *beo þe*. 22 *þærft*.

Christ was stolen and was found again, so may this property be recovered and returned to the owner ; then, still further to hamper the movements of the thief, he calls on the patriarchs,—Abraham is to shut off all ways of escape by land, Job by water, and Jacob is to bring the thief bound to judgment ; finally, after employing these solemn heathen and religious ceremonies for the restoration of his property, he proceeds to invoke the aid of the law, by reciting his indisputable claim to his own.

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CORNEILLE'S DRAMA.

Die Dramatischen Theorien Pierre Corneilles.

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kritik des französischen Dramas, von JOHANNES BÖHM, Dr. Phil. 8vo., 150 pp. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1901.

In the work before us, which is merely a reprint of the author's inaugural dissertation, we have a typical specimen of that kind of specialized historical research which is so characteristic of the German Universities. The subject under consideration is the dramatic theories of Corneille, as elucidated in the poet's prefaces, notices, "examens" to the various plays and in the three well-known "discours" which serve as introductions to the three-volume edition of his works published in 1660. But the author is here not so much concerned with a criticism and evaluation of these theories as he is to fix the interpretation Corneille put upon the teachings of Aristotle and to show how far, in actual practice, the French poet has observed and how far transgressed his own rules.

The narrow limitations thus set to the theme have, of necessity, confined the author mostly to the threshing out of old straw. And we fail to see that his work has resulted in anything new or illuminating. Corneille's attitude toward the traditional three unities, his misconception of the meaning Aristotle attached to the tragic emotions,